A

LETTER

FROM

ALBEMARLE STREET

TO THE

COCOA-TREE.

[Price Two Shillings]

1602/395.

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ALBEMARLE STREET

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ON

SOME LATE TRANSACTIONS.

—— *Every tree is known by his own fruit.* St. Luke's Goſpel.

—— Neque gratia, neque precibus, neque pretio impellere potuere——

Sed præter ſpem bonam ex vobis, quæ metum vicit, ſtatui, certaminis adverſa pro libertate, potiora eſſe forti viro, quam omnino non certaviſſe. Quamquam omnes alii, creati pro jure veſtro, vim cunctam, et imperia ſua, gratia, ſpe, aut præmiis, in vos convertere; meliuſque habent, mercede delinquere, quam gratis recte facere. SALL.

The SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

Printed for J. ALMON, oppoſite Burlington-Houſe, in Piccadilly.

MDCCLXIV.

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SOME LATE TRANSACTIONS.

—— *Every tree is known by his own fruit.* St. Luke's Gospel.

—— Neque gratia, neque precibus, neque pretio impellere potuere ——

Sed præter spem bonam ex vobis, quæ matum vicit, statui, certaminis adversa pro libertate, potiora esse forti vire, quam omnino non certavisse. Quamquam omnes alii, creati pro jure velim, vim cunctam, et imperia sua, gratia, spe, aut præmiis, in vos convertere, melius que habent, mercede delinquere, quam gratis recte facere. SALL.

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BRITISH MUSEUM 30 72 NOV

LETTER, &c.

GENTLEMEN,

SOME have made the Cocoa-Tree a cover for publiſhing, and a conveyance to ſpread, the deteſtable doctrines of arbitrary power, veiled under the ſpecious title of prerogative; to which they tackt, what indeed could only hang there, inſolent aſperſions on ſome of that illuſtrious family, under which we ſo happily enjoy our liberty; and particularly on one Prince of the blood royal, who defended it with his ſword, and ſaved it by his valour. I ſhall make no ſuch uſe of the name: nor will I confound things as oppoſite as merit and demerit; or mix men whoſe conduct divides, whoſe principles diſtinguiſh them. It is fit to diſcern, and there is a pleaſure in doing juſtice to the—DIGNOS HOMINES *honore honeſtatos*.

UNDER that character, I do not mean to comprehend nominal placemen, but real penſioners, of five hundred or one thouſand pounds a year; ſupernumeraries on eſtabliſhment liſts;—thoſe who hunt after peerages,—*right honourableſhips* without deſcent; thoſe who *ſerve* for dignities engaged or expected, as the infamous price of baſe compliances;—thoſe who ſubſtitute ſons, brothers, friends, and confidents, to receive *for them* the wages of iniquity, which a ſelf-conſciouſneſs of the guilt of earning them, makes themſelves ſeem to bluſh to take; or—thoſe who under two reigns of the houſe of Brunſwick, ſubſcribed to a weekly retail of defamation and diſloyalty, and only *now* complain of the licen iouſneſs of the preſs;—or thoſe who formerly bawled againſt corruption, and are now ſo fully reconciled both to the principle and practice of it, as openly, and conti-

nually, to avow, and juſtify that mode of adminiſtration, becauſe they reap the quieting fruits of it. Such muſt take their ſentence from the mouth of a patriot of *pagan* Rome, *Habere queſtui Rempublicam non modo turpe eſt, ſed ſceleratum, etiam et nefarium.—Hi pecuniæ aut gratiæ ſerviunt; eo fit ut impetus fiat in* VACUAM REMPUBLICAM.

NEITHER can I include thoſe who kiſs the footſteps of two n—— L——'s, one at home, another abroad, the *purity* of whoſe publick and private characters is ſo edifying to the friends of integrity, publick-ſpirit, virtue, and decorum; worſhiping their l——p's influence, or power, with the ſervile incenſe of hungry adulation. Nor will I flatter with a ſhare of the compliment ſome who have of late, (and only of late) been ſeized with fondneſs for a certain connection, once the declared object of their utter averſion.

BUT in the Cocoa-Tree, there is, as there has been amongſt people the moſt degenerate, and reprobate, and in the worſt of times, a few who do not bow the knee to corruption: there are the ſober, the thinking, the honeſt, and the truly independent, who have not ſold their own freedom, and would not barter away the liberty of their fellow-ſubjects, for the ſmiles of a Miniſter, or the proſpects of proſtitution. Theſe are in truth, what they have wiſht to be thought —the friends and defenders of the rights of their country.

OF thoſe who have once put their hand to ſo good a work, ſurely none will look back. If their example were effectual to reclaim others, who, allured by the deluding bait, have renounced their profeſſions, and deſerted the cauſe of their country, from which they formerly affected to derive the title they long boaſted of; theſe might yet retrieve a little character, and the publick would receive ſtill greater advantage, from the upright conduct of thoſe who deſerve the praiſe of all that deſire to be free.

LET me, then, addreſs myſelf to the LIBEROS *quibus pretium ſervitutis ingratum eſt:* and I congratulate you upon the honour you have gained to yourſelves, and the ſervice you have done to your country, by ranking among thoſe, who, with the courage natural to men bred in the boſom of liberty, in ſpite of power, and reſiſting temptations, have dared to aſſert the birth-right, and inheritance of free-born Engliſhmen. The warmeſt thanks of the preſent age are

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not your full reward: Poſterity will join you to the roll of thoſe immortal heroes of former days, by whom Engliſh liberty ſwears, as the Greeks did, *Per cæſos in Marathone, ac Salamine,* PROPUGNATORES REIPUBLICÆ.

I am ſorry I cannot, with equal cordiality, embrace into my political charity, as true citizens of this FREE country, the whole body to which you nominally belong, however much I diſlike the odious diſtinction of diſuniting epithets, and never can adopt them, but when diverſity of *principles* compels to it, as the leaſt of two apparent evils.

EVERY good man wiſhes the whole nation were agreed in Revolution principles; and if we are one, in that reſpect, our name muſt be one. The fire of conteſt might then, without preying on the vitals of national happineſs, waſte itſelf in the diverſity of political attachments, and ſtruggles for power; the diſputes about which are the natural offspring of a free conſtitution, and generally conducive to its vigour, as changes in it are oftentimes neceſſary to promote the public good.

IN a country like this, when men of ſound principles contend for influence, (and if they do not, it can only be becauſe there is a penury of great ſtateſmen, which is a ſign of ſtagnation, rather than a mark of health, in the political body;) they muſt not only be rivals in abilities, but emulate each other in zeal, and attention to the general welfare; which is the fair road to elevation, and the only ſtability of preferment, in popular, and mixed governments. But when the nation is diſtracted in principle, an invincible ſuperiority on that ſide, which adheres to the fundamentals of Liberty, and ſupports the ſacred ſettlement, which is the corner-ſtone of its ſecurity, is the only defence againſt the deſtruction of the whole.

OUR national parties ſprung up, with their unhappy names of diſtinction, in days when the encroachments of the Crown threatned the ſubverſion of the conſtitution. James I. taught a ſyſtem of prerogative, conſiſtent with nothing but ſlavery; and his deſcendants, corrupted with his falſe principles, obſtinately purſued his perverſe plan, to their own ruin. The unbridled attempts of arbitrary power neceſſarily produced oppoſition, then reſiſtance, and at laſt ended in the expulſion of a race of tyrants; a ſucceſſion of which had diſgraced

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the throne, and all but deſtroyed this country; when their own family fell, the miſerable victim of their irreclaimable attachment to deſpotiſm.

If there are yet amongſt us any wretched remains of thoſe parties, they are the tattered rags of a direful warfare, between the ſtretches of prerogative and the defence of liberty; between the faithful friends of a limited, mixed monarchy, and the traiterous advocates for abſolute, and arbitrary ſovereignty: a diſpute, one ſhould think, too unnatural now to be brought back from the dead.

The diſagreeable diſtinctions that heretofore have prevailed, muſt be placed to the account of the times, and the circumſtances of the nation: but the fortunate change in theſe ſhould now ſoften, into general harmony, all former animoſities, and eradicate unnatural, and deſtructive prejudices. If there is a diſtinction, let it only be between honeſt men, and thoſe who do not deſerve the name; between thoſe who will do any thing for ſomething, and thoſe who will not, on any account, do what ought not to be done. Let the honour and intereſt, the glory and proſperity of the nation, the juſt power, and true dignity of the crown, and the rights of the ſubject, be, as in truth they are, the common cauſe; and the principles of allegiance, and liberty, the cement of adherence to it. Thoſe who, from any motive, can deſert that cauſe, or deny thoſe principles, will, with their country, ſtand in the light, in which their own criminal, and contemptible conduct ſo juſtly places them.

I am perſuaded the Proteſtant ſucceſſion is now ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, in the hearts and affections of a people free, and ſenſible to freedom, that it is beyond the reach of any attempt. The liberties of the ſubject too, that other Herculean pillar of the conſtitution, are now ſo well underſtood, and the foundations of them ſo immoveably fixed, as to be, I *hope*, in no *immediate* danger.

The miniſters of this free government may therefore ſtand on very ſafe, and very ſure ground, while they purſue an unſhaken attachment to thoſe great objects: but it will always be dangerous for them, to entrench themſelves in their precarious power, and reſiſt the cries, or even deſpiſe the clamours, of the people, when they ſeem to be at all general, or there is the leaſt appearance of ground for them, eſpecially in matters of liberty. The ſpirit of liberty is a jea-

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lous ſpirit, and not eaſily ſtilled. Authority, which is a match for all other oppoſition, is ſcarcely equal to its ſtrength; and power itſelf will not ſubdue its energy, without a ſtruggle too hard to be endured.

We ſometimes hear that the people are drunk with liberty, and certainly nothing is more likely to intoxicate men who have liberally taſted the ſweets of it; for, *nihil omnium bonorum multitudini gratius quam libertas eſt*; as the people teſtified, when the Roman heralds proclaimed liberty to Greece; and as the Engliſh nation ſhewed, when the glorious Prince of Orange publiſhed their deliverance from arbitrary power. But liberty never intoxicates, unleſs when it is touched by ſomething of an alarming kind which ſtirs the fermenting quality of it; it is the moſt peaceable thing in the world, when in its natural ſtate, though the moſt difficult to be ſettled, if once put in agitation.

If the officers of the crown will give the alarm, by intolerable violations of the ſubjects liberty, and avow, and approve what they dare not pretend to juſtify; if miniſters will mark their adminiſtration with *acts of power*, laying open private houſes, for the ſake of a revenue, ſo paultry as not to be worth raiſing, at the expence of the collection, and as unneceſſarily, as unprofitably, depriving Engliſhmen of their unalienable, and ineſtimable privilege of trial by a jury of their Peers; if they will make queſtions of liberty teſts of their influence, and lukewarmneſs to the fundamentals of the conſtitution the badge of obedience to them; if an *arbitrary diſpoſition appears ſomewhere* in the appointment, and removal from employments; if meritorious military officers, happening to be in a particular ſtation, and of a certain opinion, are diſmiſſed from the ſervice of the publick, without any cauſe aſſigned, and therefore for one that dare not be mentioned, though it cannot be doubted *; if the proſtitution

* Within a month after his Majeſty's acceſſion, Sir Henry Ereſkine got a regiment, and was *at once* raiſed to the rank of a Major-General, and even with an unheard-of precedency over many of that degree; becauſe, it was alledged, he had been put out of the army, when he had only a company, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, by brevet, in reſentment for ſome parliamentary conduct. In the fourth year of his Majeſty's reign, General Acourt, and others were diſmiſſed from their military employments, without charge or trial. Why? The miniſtry know beſt.—But all the kingdom know they are Members of Parliament, and happened to be of the Minority. Did they who adviſed theſe diſmiſſions, conſult the honour of their ſovereign, the intereſt of their country, or promote the chaſtity of parliament, which is the ſecurity of the rights and liberties of the nation? *Vide Proteſts, on the removal of the Duke of Bolton, and Lord Cobham, and who ſigned them.*

of the higheſt, and moſt honourable, truſt in the kingdom, is to be the tenure of places: If any of theſe things are ſeen, much more if they all concur, the authors of them, whoever they are, and profeſs what they will, (and authors there muſt be,) are not the friends of their Prince, or the faithful ſervants of their maſter, but will be deemed the enemies of their country: They ſtain the throne, bring a reproach upon government, and inſult the rights of the people. It is to ſport with fire-brands and tread upon ſerpents. Hot heads may laugh at the danger of ſuch conduct, but wiſe men will beware in time.

On the other hand, if the people of this country were come to be eaſy under ſuch things; not to feel, not to complain, not to oppoſe the authors and cauſes of ſuch evils; they muſt, indeed, be ripe for the dreadful denunciation. *O homines ad ſervitutem parati!*—To them might be applied the pathetick language of the Roman orators, *En illa, illa, quam ſæpe optaſtis,* LIBERTAS!—*Libertatem magis optatis quam defenditis—Si,* QUIRITES, *parum exiſtimaretis, quod inter jus a* MAJORIBUS *relictum vobis, & hoc a Sylla paratum ſervitium intereſſet;—maxima turbamenta reipub. atque exitia probate; annuite legibus impoſitis: accipite otium cum ſervitio: & tradite exemplum poſteris, ad* POPULUM ROMANUM *ſuimet ſanguinis mercede circumveniendum.*—

It cannot ſurely *yet* be made a queſtion, whether we are FREE, or not? whether we have a conſtitution, or not? or whether liberty is as precarious, in England, as it is in Turkey? But it is denied us to *declare* we are free, to aſſert the undoubted rights of the conſtitution. Should the guardians of our liberty then never declare a fundamental of freedom, in a proper conſtitutional manner; by a ſolemn and ſeaſonable reſolution, called forth by arbitrary, and illegal violations of liberty? If this be beyond the juriſdiction of parliament, parliament is not the thing it has hitherto been believed to be;—the great palladium of the rights, and liberty of a free people; a barrier againſt the power of the crown; and the ſovereign controul of the officers of government. Inſtead of being, as the great patriots who contended for its privileges, in the days of *Stuart*—tyranny, ſtiled it, the fountain of juſtice, under the ſafe cuſtody of which, men's eſtates, and liberties are preſerved; it is diveſted of a conſiderable part of its authority, not the leaſt important to the ends

ends of its inſtitution, and become a maimed, mutilated court. Or the powers of parliament have been much miſtaken, in times when the principles of the conſtitution were well ſifted, and ſeem to have been beſt underſtood, as well as moſt enquired after; when fierce debate, and fiery contention, cleared up the principles, and ſettled the boundaries of this government.

WHERE are all the general votes againſt acts of the crown, and other things, done contrary to the laws and conſtitution of the kingdom---the reſolutions againſt *betrayers of the liberties of the* PEOPLE OF ENGLAND, *and enemies to the ſame*; againſt violations by majeſty itſelf? where the declarations that *ſealing* and *ſeizing* of PAPERS; charging the ſubject with great offences, *without witneſs, without information*; and ſuch other illegal proceedings, were not only breaches of the privileges of parliament, but crimes againſt the law of nature, againſt the rules of juſtice, that his majeſty's *own* command, could no more warrant, than it can any other acts of injuſtice; and that thereby the very principles of government and juſtice would be in danger of being diſſolved? Where are the reſolutions againſt the arbitrary and oppreſſive ſentences of *Baſtwick*, *Burton*, *Prynn*, and others, in the reign of Charles the Firſt; not to mention thoſe of the Earl of Devonſhire and others, paſſed before, and condemned after the Revolution?

IF the houſe of commons ſhould derelinquiſh the right, or decline to exerciſe the power of *reſolving* with the dignity, and authority of parliamentary declarations, upon points of high concernment to the liberty of the ſubject, and eſſential to the preſervation of our freedom, eſpecially in the caſe of violations in the perſons of their own members; they would ceaſe to be the grand inqueſt of the nation; ſurrender one of their higheſt truſts; devolve to the inferior courts, that ſupereminent inſpection, with which they are, by the conſtitution, inveſted, over the courts themſelves, as well as over all other miniſters of government; and leave to the ordinary courſe of particular remedies, matters, the importance, and univerſal concern of which, call for the graveſt, weightieſt, and moſt efficacious interpoſition of the higheſt authority.

FOR parliamentary reſolutions are not like the words of *a drunken porter*, ſay ſo who will. One ſhould think ENGLAND could not have

have bred a man, I had almoſt ſaid a——, who would talk in ſo ridiculous a manner: and no body has more reaſon to ſtand in awe of parliament, than ſuch as are capable of holding a language ſo diſreſpectful to IT, ſo derogatory to the great SECURITY of the NATION. It muſt proceed from ignorance of the conſtitution: and to confute the nonſenſe, would be ſuppoſing it is not what it really is. Lawyers, who are generally fettered with the trammels of their profeſſion, may ſay, as they ſometimes have ſaid, that votes of the commons are not conſidered as laws— "Nevertheleſs, (as the author of the beſt conſtitutional hiſtory of England ſays,) ſuch is their effect, that *few perſons are ſo hardy* as to act directly contrary to theſe deciſions of the commons, ſince it is, in ſome meaſure, to oppoſe the ſentiment of the people whom they repreſent. Beſides, an action directly contrary to a vote of the houſe, is liable to be queſtioned, when leaſt expected, and draws upon the actor the indignation of the houſe." It may alſo be remembered, that there are not wanting inſtances of parliaments declaring things done againſt liberty, *heinous crimes*, even in an *Attorney-General*.

MANY high, and ſtrong reſolutions of parliament, of which we now enjoy the fruits, were made in the reign of Charles the Firſt, by the glorious, and renowned aſſertors of the privileges of parliament, and rights of the people, (things inſeparable in their nature, and in their ſecurity,) in oppoſition to the pernicious doctrines of uſurping prerogative, and the violent meaſures of a wicked adminiſtration: The very *penſioned* parliament itſelf of Charles the Second, could not forbear making the like reſolutions, againſt an arbitrary prince, and a corrupt court. How much more then do they, when made neceſſary, by the unjuſtifiable conduct of the ſervants of the publick, become the time of George the Third, a young and virtuous king, of the illuſtrious houſe of Brunſwick, whoſe family has been the bulwark of the liberties of Europe, and the ſtay of the Engliſh conſtitution; whoſe heart, ſtript of all diſguiſe, is the lively image of the wiſhes of his people, and his *own* inclinations their happineſs, ſatisfaction, and ſecurity! A breach of the liberty of the ſubject, under colour of *his* authority, is the moſt ſcandalous libel upon his government; a high affront to his royal diſpoſitions, and an audacious inſult upon his repeated declarations.

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THE only thing then to be enquired into, is, if there has, of late, been any juſt, or reaſonable cauſe, for the interpoſition of parliamentary reſolutions, to aſſert the rights of the ſubject, and maintain the principles of liberty, the *eſſentials* of the conſtitution. This is a ſubject, that has attracted the attention of the whole nation, to a degree that no other thing has done for many years, and hardly any one ever did more: It has divided the Cocoa-tree, in a way much to the honour of that part of it to which I am now ſpeaking. I hope, therefore, it will not be conſidered as an indignity to the name, under it, to attempt to unfold the grounds of the conduct of its *better part*, in juſtification of them, and of thoſe who are of the ſame ſentiments; and to ſhew that it is not an invidious, and ill-founded diſtinction, by which the FRIENDS OF LIBERTY have been ſignalized in the regards of their country: that it was not a frivolous, or immaterial queſtion, that was ſtirred, as a *party-buſineſs*, and the work of faction, to diſtreſs government, try numbers, and ſee how this or the other man would go; *all*,—imputations, which many ſtrong proofs atteſt never to have been worſe founded.

To anſwer this end, it is abſolutely neceſſary, though it will take a little more room than could be wiſhed, to lay the foundation right, by a full, and true ſtate of the caſe, out of which the queſtions that have been diſputed, ariſe. For from thence only can a juſt judgment be formed; and one proceeding on other grounds is *partial*, and nothing but the ſpirit of *party*.

THE violations of liberty lately complained of, were not taken up as the cauſe of *one man*, but as the concern of the WHOLE, and becauſe they are of the moſt outragious, and atrocious nature; tending to undermine the very foundations of our liberty, and to eſtabliſh the moſt illegal, dangerous, and tyrannical power, in the officers of the crown. Nor does the character, or crime, of the perſon immediately affected by them, alter their nature, or one bit alleviate their aggravations, even as reſpecting him, much leſs as intereſting the publick. Even criminals of the moſt unpardonable guilt are to be dealt with according to law; and the more obnoxious the party had made himſelf by his conduct, there was the leſs reaſon for outrage in proſecuting him; as the arms of the law are long enough to reach any man. But what is done to any one, may be committed upon

every one; and that which happens to a perſon ſuſpected, or accuſed of a crime, may befall the moſt innocent ſubject, as no character, or conduct, is a ſecurity againſt imputation, or charge.

THE proceedings themſelves, can hardly be exceeded by the moſt arbitrary acts, in the tyrannical reigns of the *Stuarts*, or in the moſt deſpotick governments. The ſecurity of perſonal liberty, reſtraints upon the criminal powers of magiſtracy, and the legal checks upon officers of the crown, in reſpect to the ſafety of the ſubject, are among the moſt important diſtinctions of this FREE conſtitution. Diſtributive juſtice, between man and man, is adminiſtered, perhaps, with as great purity in France, as in England. But French deſpotiſm has the *Baſtile*, to which any man may be dragged out of his bed, without knowing whither, or for what, he is carried a priſoner; where he muſt remain, without remedy, till the ſame arbitrary pleaſure that confined, thinks fit to releaſe him. *There* are ſecret trials, and midnight executions; letters of cachet, by which the firſt Peer of France may be ſent into relegation, and baniſhment, without judgment, without trial, and without offence, at the nod of a miniſter. That enſlaved people have no habeas corpus, no juries, no goal-deliveries. He that goes to ſleep under his own roof, may ſee the next day in a dungeon, and even be brought to a ſcaffold, without knowing his accuſer, his judge, or his crime. Yet the kingdom of France was once as free as we are, and had a Parliament of the ſame nature, with that which England now happily enjoys: a terrible monitor to us to guard Liberty, and to watch Power!

WHAT have we ſeen in this land of freedom? A warrant;---I ſhould not ſay a warrant, (for a warrant is a legal authority) but a thing greatly miſnamed by that word, ſigned by a Secretary of State; who, though no Lawyer, might, as an Engliſhman, and from the advantages of his rank, be ſuppoſed to know the fundamentals of liberty, the firſt principles of the conſtitution, and, as a high officer of government, might be expected, to be a little acquainted with the duty, which his ſtation owes to his country;---an *unwarrantable* warrant, giving power to four men, of no greater figure than meſſengers, and of a diſcretion, probably, proportioned to their literature, and ſituation, to take up, in the King's name, and, as the paper ſays, by his authority, as many of the ſubjects of Great-Britain,

Britain, and, I ſuppoſe, Ireland too, as theſe ſame learned, and acute meſſengers thought fit, in their wiſdom and humanity, to deem, from any knowledge they had, or could get, (by what legal, or ſufficient means I know not,) authors, printers, or publiſhers of a libel, known to be openly, and publickly, ſold at the ſhop of a bookſeller, whoſe name was on the frontiſpiece of it, as all the weekly papers, of the ſame title, had notoriouſly been for many months.

THIS mock warrant, *but real libel*, as it carried the charge of treaſon, which, a warrant of commitment iſſued afterwards did not dare continue, further confers a power, (for it could give no right) to the meſſengers, whom it inveſted with ſo extenſive, and critical a juriſdiction, to ſeize the papers of the nameleſs, and numberleſs multitude, of whomſoever they ſhould be pleaſed to execute it upon; and to bring theſe dumb culprits, together with the living offenders, to whom they belonged, before the Secretary of State, to be *dealt with according to law*.

SUCH was the tenor of a general warrant of apprehenſion, iſſued by one of the higheſt officers of the crown. But to allow it the name of a warrant, would be giving up the conſtitution, renouncing the ſecurity of our freedom, and removing the great land-marks of liberty. It is, if any thing, a patent of inquiſition, an illegal commiſſion, delegating an univerſal power of caption, not ſo much as to a bailiff, or peace officer, but to the loweſt, and amongſt the moſt illiterate, and, from the protection to which they truſt, the moſt incautious, if not the moſt inſolent, ſervants of a ſecretary's office It is in ſhort a commiſſion, which the great ſeal itſelf could not authorize, and beyond the powers even of regality to grant, in this country.

This warrant, as it is falſely called, proceeded upon no oath, and without any legal information; though theſe, till now, have been judged neceſſary, to put the quieſcent powers of magiſtracy into action, and without them, or ſomething exactly equivalent, no ſubject ought, or can legally be diſturbed, or deprived of his liberty; as otherwiſe the firſt, and a very main ſecurity of freedom is gone, and every man liable to be taken up, at the caprice of the loweſt magiſtrate, who has the power of commitment. But to ſpeak of this defect, would only be to tell what common ſenſe is ſufficient to

inform

inform the moſt illiterate of; for it is impoſſible that there can be an information, or oath, charging every body, or rather, indeed, no body, with a crime.

WHO can ſuffer the bare idea of putting ſuch a number, one does not know how many, of the King's ſubjects, in the diſcretion, or rather under the arbitrary power, of a rude, ignorant, impertinent, and very likely, intereſted meſſenger, armed with the terror of a Secretary's warrant, than which nothing is more alarming, to thoſe moſt expoſed to the oppreſſion of it; as we know by experience, and is indeed very plain from the currency, it is ſaid, they have got, without being queſtioned?

BUT to expatiate on the diſtreſs, and terrible conſequences, of ſeizing PAPERS, would be to inſult, not the underſtanding, but the feelings, of the meaneſt capacity. A volume of arguments cannot paint this evil in ſtronger colours, than the ſelf-evident tendency of it will, on the firſt reflection, repreſent it to every man who knows what papers are;—the depoſitaries of every thing that can be valuable, or that a man would wiſh to be ſecret, for his own ſake for the ſake of his family, his friends, and of all with whom he is, or has been connected: a tranſcript of the breaſts of the living and the dead.

BY virtue, or rather under pretence of this warrant, not one, but a great number of the ſubjects of this kingdom were apprehended. I ſay *ſubjects*, for the warrant might, with the ſame legality, or, to ſpeak more properly, alike illegally, have been iſſued, or executed againſt any member of parliament, peer, privy-counſellor, or prince of the blood, as againſt a printer, or a printer's devil. It does not appear that there was even a colour of ſuſpicion of the fact againſt many of the poor people who were ſeized; on the contrary, that a ſingle queſtion, very eaſy to be aſked, would have cleared them of all imputation; which only ſhews the propriety, and ſafety, of truſting meſſengers with ſuch inquiſitorial powers.

FIVE days after the date of the warrant, and when, as the fact comes out in evidence, there was a pointed information, by the examination of one perſon, which might have been taken upon oath, and in the moſt legal manner; the then ſuppoſed delinquent was

ſeized,

ſeized, in conſequence of a *verbal* order, which directed the warrant to be executed upon him in the dead hour of the night. That order, if it had been literally obeyed, might have produced ſtill greater crimes; and I ſhall not ſay *who* would, in that caſe, have been the guilty perſons. This was the moſt wanton abuſe of power; and the moſt determined contempt of the laws of the land; ſubſtituting mere arbitrary will for a legal act; ſince nothing was eaſier, than to have ſatisfied the law, ſo far at leaſt, by iſſuing a pointed, and preciſe warrant againſt the perſon accuſed, *by name*, founded on a proper information on oath, charging him with the criminal fact.

THE ſame nameleſs, general warrant, was the only authority, under which locks were picked, by the hands of a ſmith; repoſitories ſearched, and PAPERS put into a ſack, and carried to the Secretaries-Office. If to make the offender a witneſs againſt himſelf, and to condemn him out of his own cabinet, as a *wiſe printed* letter of the ſecretaries of ſtate alledged, it was rather, for the times in which we live, a little too much in the ſtile of Algernoon Sidney, who died for ſome words of a manuſcript, taken out of his cloſet. But the papers ſeized, furniſhed paragraphs for the news-papers; and a printed Paphian miſterious pamphlet diſcovered ſome, ſaid to have been found among them, of too indecent a nature for me to pollute my pen with mentioning *.

IF the thing needed proof, a ſtronger than this very circumſtance ſuggeſts, could not be produced, of the danger, diſtreſs, and oppreſſion, of ranſacking mens privacies: for ſecrets innocent, but valuable, tender, and delicate (of which papers contain many) are as eaſily made publick as thoſe of a reproachful kind. Is this then dealing with our property according to law? or what law is it? Was it law even in the days of the Star-chamber itſelf? The man who unneceſſarily, wantonly, and wickedly publiſhes any ſecret, that comes to his knowledge *officially*, and eſpecially under violent acts of power, deſerves to looſe, if not his head, at leaſt his hands, and his tongue. It is an infamous treachery: and though he who did it had *as many friends as an honeſt man ſhould have*, in any party, if he had not more, he would not continue long in a ſituation, that would put it in his power to do the ſame thing a ſecond time.

* Vide a ſcandalous note in Mr. W——b's pamphlet on Lord Chief Juſtice Pratt's argument.

GREAT, and alarming, as theſe violations of the rights, and liberties of the ſubject were; and not the leſs ſo that they were attempted to be extenuated by precedent; the arbitrary, and illegal proceedings, in the caſe lately agitated, did not end, they only began, with the execution of the general warrant of apprehenſion. The ſpirit of the habeas corpus act, that diſtinguiſhing ſecurity of Engliſh liberty, was, with an artful deſign, to deprive the priſoner of an opportunity of conteſting the legality of the general warrant, under which ſo many of the king's ſubjects had been apprehended; the warrant being juſtly afraid, to ſhew its face in a court of law; as it muſt have done upon the return of the habeas corpus, which was applied for, and ordered, upon the ſeizure, for which it was the only authority.

THE ſecretaries of ſtate, and the miniſters of their pleaſure, more ready to obey them, than to reſpect the law, and the authority of the king's judges, dextrouſly changed the cuſtody of the priſoner, by committing him, after they had notice of a writ of habeas being ordered. This of itſelf was a high violation of liberty; and an example big with all the evils, which the habeas corpus act was made to remedy, that no ſubject might ſuffer impriſonment without relief, longer than he could apply to a court of law, to examine into the cauſe of it. In a preceeding caſe, we had heard of ſuppoſed libellers taken up, under a warrant of the ſame ſecretary (in which, however, the perſons were named) being kept in the cuſtody of a meſſenger, five days without examination, (a moſt illegal practice): but in this, half as many hours did not paſs, before an impriſonment was precipitated, to outrun the writ of habeas, known to be already ordered.

THE warrant of this haſty commitment was another illegal and outrageous breach of liberty; as if ſecretaries of ſtate could not, or diſdained to do any thing in a legal manner, when acting as magiſtrates. James the Second's privy-council, (as appears from the collection of warrants lately publiſhed, in juſtification of the proceedings of the preſent times,) were contented with committing the ſeven biſhops, for what was then called a libel on the king, to his face, to *ſafe* cuſtody; our ſecretaries commit their priſoner, for the ſame ſpecies of offence, to ſafe and *cloſe* cuſtody, that no body might have

have acceſs to him. For ſo, it ſeems, the officers of the Tower interpret theſe words, by their uſage: and for the greater ſecurity, they had beſide the ſtile of the warrant, particular, and repeated orders, by different meſſengers, to that purpoſe, which were ſtrictly obeyed for ſome days. The ſollicitor for the crown, indeed, for once aſhamed of the utter illegality of ſuch a proceeding, told the lieutenant of the Tower, that the orders muſt have been a miſtake. The priſoner was, however, kept in cloſe confinement, for more than thirty hours after. It was a *miſtake* ſo ordered, and ſo obeyed, as to be effectual to the unjuſtifiable end for which it was originally deſigned.

THESE are the proceedings, which have been the object of publick attention, and enquiry: an enquiry ſet on foot by publick ſpirit, and zeal for liberty; without regard to any particular man; at a time, and in a manner, that perſonal conſiderations could not, ought not, to have entered into, or affected the great queſtions in debate. If ſuch a *torpidneſs* could ever ſeize Engliſhmen, as not to be ſenſible of ſuch injuries, not to reſent, and repel ſtrokes, ſo directly levelled at the vitals of liberty; *Nec cuiquam noſtrum liceret, more maiorum, lege uti, neque amiſſo patrimonio,* LIBERUM CORPUS *habere.*

THE magnitude and importance of the matter, demanded an *effectual* diſcuſſion: But if additional reaſons could be neceſſary, the pretence of uſage, ſet up to excuſe what could not be juſtified, was more than ſufficient, to call for an immediate enquiry, and to produce the moſt authoritative determination. One would be apt to think ſome extraordinary prudence in thoſe who have ventured to execute general warrants, and an uncommon terror in the poor and helpleſs perſons who have been heretofore oppreſſed by the tyrany of them, had hitherto kept them concealed from public view, that they have not, before now, felt the indignation of the courts of law. Even thoſe who have not the advantage of the ſcience of the law, could not but perceive at firſt ſight, how inconſiſtent general warrants were with the conſtitution. Moſt people never heard of them, nor knew there was ſuch a thing; and it is no wonder when high officers in the law; (as one honourable gentleman lately declared in publick) were ignorant of them.

HOWEVER,

HOWEVER, if ſuch a courſe of office has prevailed, without being queſtioned, or controuled, it was certainly high time to check it; to do juſtice to liberty; and reſiſt encroachments on the conſtitution of the moſt dangerous tendency. It is not more neceſſary for the people, than it is for the miniſters of government themſelves, to have the error corrected, and be taught their duty.

WHAT has heretofore been inattention, would, after this, be culpable acquieſcence; the greateſt enemy liberty has: and might tend to fix, upon the neck of the nation, an inſupportable yoke of ſervitude. Points once debated, only become the more doubtful, for not being determined upon: which makes it moſt perilous to defer deciding on matters of great, and general concern to the liberty, and ſecurity, of the ſubject.

IF precedents favouring ſo ſtrong of arbitrary power, and uſurping prerogative, have, for want of due care, been ſuffered to prevail in days propitious to liberty, it is doubly neceſſary to root out the noxious weed, before it overſpreads the conſtitution, the very vitals of which it muſt prey upon. We ſhould look to worſe times, however ſmall the chance of them is, (and ſmaller it never was,) that proviſion be not laid up for thoſe who might be diſpoſed to improve bad examples. Kings may be good, and yet not always have miniſters like themſelves. This we are ſure of, that no miniſter deſerves, or is likely ever to poſſeſs, the confidence of the people, who violates, or abets violations of their liberty; who oppoſes the juſt reparation of it, when infringed, or declines to promote its further ſecurity, and protection.

THE publick has been alarmed: for it is not the noiſe of the rabble that we have of late heard; the tattle of coffee-houſe, or the clamour of incendiaries, as ſome have repreſented it: The ſerious, and thoughtful, true lovers of the King, and conſtitution, have been rouzed by acknowledged, and atrocious violations of liberty. Being juſtly alarmed, they wiſhed to ſee an inquiry of great concern, and no leſs expectation, immediately wound up with ſome reſolutions of a ſolemnity, and gravity, adequate to the important ſubject that gave them birth, and ſuitable to the caſe from which they aroſe, to quiet men's minds, and ſet the fears of liberty at reſt. *Non enim agitur de*

vecti-

vecti galibus, non de ſociorum injuriis; LIBERTAS *& anima noſtra in dubio eſt.*

THE object in view was not barely to condemn general warrants without name: for that the Houſe of Commons did, even in the reign of Charles II. and impeached a Chief Juſtice of England for granting them; though the revival of the practice loudly called for a freſh check to ſo dangerous an evil.—Depriving the ſubject of his liberty without a charge upon oath, or ſomething as ſtrong, is equally illegal.—Cloſe confinement for a bailable offence, arbitrary evaſions of the habeas corpus—and above all, the unwarrantable ſeizure of papers;—were objects highly worthy the weightieſt interpoſition, and an adequate puniſhment.

WE deſired reſolutions to vindicate the principles of the conſtitution, and invigorate the nerves of liberty; to ſhew that a due ſenſe, and a becoming regard to it, inſpire the repreſentatives of a free people: that the juſt apprehenſions of thoſe who chooſe them, to be their defenders and protectors, are not to be treated as the dreams of fancy, or the murmurs of ſedition; nor the voice of freedom diſregarded as the language of riot, or curbed as the petulance of faction: that the fundamentals of liberty are not to be taken up, only to be laid aſide, as things of no moment, and ſhuffled into the heap of unimportant, and impertinent matter, that compoſes the dreg of publick conſultations, and the refuſe of free debate.

SUCH reſolutions would have been highly ſeaſonable at this time: for though it is difficult to be accounted for, if we conſider the character of the Prince upon the throne, and the undiſſembled duty, and affection, that a loyal people have not failed, in any juſt inſtance, or on any proper occaſion, to expreſs, with a peculiar warmth, ſince his acceſſion: I ſay, nowithſtanding this, certain it is that a frantick rage ſeems, of late, to have ſeized ſome men, for the word *Prerogative*, and the *Power of the Crown*.

WE have ſeen hirelings, who, the world has but too good reaſon to believe, were countenanced, and even paid from a certain quarter, juſtifying very extraordinary acts of adminiſtration, upon no better principles. Writings have appeared, containing the moſt inſolent abuſe of the good old King, the memory of whoſe benign and glorious reign will ever be ſavory to all true Whigs, and of his royal ſon,

the valiant defender of our liberty: mixing up in these scandalous, and hitherto unpunished libels the exploded notions of prerogative, and absolute power. At last a book has come out (how at this particular season God knows!) that is a professed code of despotism, replete with the most diabolical tenets of tyranny, and teaching a most compleat system of slavery.

Who the author expected to be his patrons, or where he meant to make his court, I cannot tell; but he is surely mistaken if he thought the nation was ripe, to swallow the sophisticated nonsense he has studied to revive, of divine hereditary right; Kings above the restraint of law; unlimited monarchy; parliaments without power; the people bound to passive obedience; the rights and privileges of both but so many precarious concessions of absolute Princes: such are his doctrines without colour or disguise; true barefaced, hereditary, indefeasible Tory doctrines, without so much as the least art used to gild the bitter pill.

Whether he took his mark from political writings, or was misled by *practical* proceedings, he has taken a short way of ending disputes about liberty, by cutting the gordian knot: and whatever was the ground of his error, it should seem he judged this a proper season for publishing his infernal canon, in opposition to the creed of those whom he calls *New-Statists*, who maintain a *mixture of government*. He tells us in his introduction, "That the people have *lately* been led away by strange notions, that what is binding to the people, should be also binding to the King;—that the rights and liberties of the people, since the accession of the House of Brunswick, have been frequently enlarged.—That the *Droit le Roy*, (or his system of the prerogatives of the crown,) has been little understood this century by magistrates, whose duty it is to inculcate, and diffuse its loyal principles: for which purpose, he warmly recommends his own treatise, to those in every branch of government, enumerated in a long list; and in particular, to *the Secretaries of State*; not doubting but their loyalty, and zeal, will, like a secret charm, impell them to distribute it."

It is a satisfaction, that by the attention and zeal of some who are *not in power*, this vile book, the doctrines of which are of the *Stuart*-age, containing a poison destructive of the very life of the constitution,

tution, tending to ſhake the pillars of the revolution, and ſubverting the foundations of liberty, has not eſcaped a proper ſtigma: Impunity, and a toleration of it, in a reign of the Houſe of Brunſwick, might have afforded a ſanction to its abominable tenets. The cenſure which it has deſervedly met with, as it comes from the higheſt authority, ſo it has been given in a true conſtitutional manner, the moſt ſuitable, as well as efficacious, to defend the conſtitution, againſt open attacks, or undermining encroachments.

JUDICIAL reſolutions of Parliament, ſeaſonably interpoſed, in vindication of the conſtitution, not in gratification of mens paſſions, partialities, and reſentments, upon great and general doctrines of magnitude ſufficient to draw out its ſupreme juriſdiction, are the known, the natural, ſafe, and (notwithſtanding the bold ſcorn of any officer of the law, however high,) the moſt operative protection of liberty. Theſe reſcue, and reſtore things to their right condition: they do not create, or enact, but actuate, and aſcertain what already has a real exiſtence, and ought to be in full vigour: they brighten, and illuſtrate the principles of the conſtitution, that threaten to languiſh, and fade; they quicken, and enliven thoſe that are in danger of decay, and annihilation.

REMEDIAL laws, to facilitate, or enforce the enjoyment of rights ſpringing out of the conſtitution, are often neceſſary, and always excellent expedients; but a bill to aſſert fundamentals, like an injudicious prop, muſt debilitate, rather than ſupport. One ſhould almoſt as ſoon wiſh to ſee an act, to declare Magna Charta, or the bill of rights, in force. Declaratory ſtatutes are very effectual to remove a doubt; but they are ſure to ſuppoſe an ambiguity: when applied to indubitable poſitions, that are of the eſſence of liberty, inſtead of ſtrengthning a part, they give a ſhock to the whole fabrick. They narrow the broad bottom of inherent principles, darken, and obſcure the unwritten volume of the conſtitution, that every free-born Engliſhman daily reads, in his own boſom, in what he ſees, in what he feels, and in what he enjoys; which, like the *Lex nata, non ſcripta*, is of greater force, and of more ſubſtantial uſe, than a thouſand ſpecial proviſions, the beſt penned, and moſt firmly enacted. Laws of that ſort, propoſed at certain times, under certain circumſtances, and by certain perſons, are more likely to prove *prerogative-*

acts,

acts, than ſtatutes of liberty; and, in place of ſhutting the door againſt exceſs, and abuſe, to create loop-holes of exception, and omiſſion, for uſurpation to creep in at. It is therefore without all reaſon to ſay (as has been ſaid) that *they* got a new light, who one day preſſed a reſolution, and the next refuſed a bill, to the ſame effect. The utility of the firſt was apparent, the danger of the other is obvious. We did not want an act of parliament to new-mould, or amend, the conſtitution, or to give us a new one; but a parliamentary declaration, which, (as the reſolutions on *Droit le Roy* manifeſt,) is upon general points, the proper, and undoubtedly competent authority, to maintain and enforce that conſtitution which we are happily in poſſeſſion of, to correct error, and reſtrain abuſe.

OUR expectations are at preſent ſuſpended for *four months*. In the mean time, it is ſome comfort, that there is ground to believe that reſolutions, upon the great points lately agitated, *when they are made*, will be in favour of liberty: and no reaſon to apprehend that *one*, very important, ever will, or can receive a negative—that the cries of liberty have been ſo fully juſtified; not one lawyer, or ſtatesman having been found, hardy enough to vindicate, or ſupport, the illegal acts complained of:—and that the cauſe of liberty was ſo honeſtly, ſo ably maintained, and defended, by brave Engliſh ſpirits; and ſupported by ſo numerous, and ſo very reſpectable a body of thoſe, on whom the hopes of their country depend.

I ſhall cloſe this head with obſerving only, how melancholy it is to reflect, that in proportion as the privileges of P—t have been contemptuouſly and inſolently attacked, inſtead of inflicting examplary puniſhment, privilege itſelf is weakened in a degree unprecedented by any former complaiſance, under which a ready tool of the revenge of others, hath happily eſcaped upon this ever memorable occaſion.

YOU, the WORTHY gentlemen of the Cocoa-Tree, have honourably diſtinguiſhed yourſelves among the friends of liberty. Your country, with gratitude, proclaims your merit; and the voice of liberty will loudly ſound your praiſe. Welcome into the boſom of a free people, and to be numbered amongſt the beſt CITIZENS! You have followed the example of the venerable heroes in the cauſe of liberty, to whoſe courage in the ſenate, and the field, we

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owe the preſervation of our conſtitution, the maintenance of our freedom. You have but to perſevere in the ſame glorious path, and your fame will be recorded with their immortal renown.

COULD you deſire a nobler teſtimony to your ſervices, than one you have?—You ſhare the large applauſes of ſo many brave patriots, who on the ſame trying occaſion, with undaunted boldneſs, contended for the juſt rights of their country. Amongſt the foremoſt ſtands a gallant general, pointed out for ſupreme command, by the unanimous voice of his grateful country; in whoſe manly ſpirit, a well-tempered mixture of generoſity, and frugality, ſecures the foundations of true dignity: renowned for his proweſs, more diſtinguiſhed yet by his patriotiſm; who truly poſſeſſes that ANIMUS IN CONSULENDO LIBER, *neque delicto, neque libidini obnoxius:* a brave ſon of Mars, who follows not alone, but accompanied by many, his ſpirited companions of the war, wherever liberty leads; who pleads her cauſe at home, with the ſame ardor, that he fought her battles abroad; wreathing the laurels of the camp, with the garlands of the Senate; who thinks, and ſhews, that honour is not confined to military ſervice, but is equally ſacred in all ſituations, and in all capacities.—There is fortitude which deſpiſes danger, and defies *diſmiſſion*; the independent ſpirit that makes the MAN; the magnanimity which crowns the HERO;—the bold ſoldier, the intrepid ſenator, the fine gentleman, the warlike advocate for liberty! England has a CONWAY, the powers of whoſe eloquence, inſpired by his zeal for the object, animated with the fire of true genius, and furniſhed with a ſound knowledge of the conſtitution, at once entertain, raviſh, convince, conquer.

SUCH noble examples are the riches of the preſent age, the treaſure of poſterity.—*Sæpe audivi civitatis noſtræ præclaros viros ſolitos ita dicere,* CUM MAJORUM IMAGINES INTUERENTUR, VEHEMENTISSIME SIBI ANIMUM AD VIRTUTEM ACCENDI.—*Scilicet non ceram illam neque figuram tantam vim in ſeſe habere; ſed memoria rerum geſtarum, eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore creſcere, neque prius ſedari, quam virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adæquaverit.*

THE honeſt, and ſpirited, conduct of the ſound part of the Cocoa-Tree, has done much, towards reducing the ſtate of parties, to that ground on which a diviſion cannot long ſubſiſt, or effect great harm.

The banner of prerogative, which was wont to be the much loved regal enſign, will not now triumph over the ſtandard of liberty, which always was the favourite enſign of the people.

If honeſt men, that have been called tories, are upon the ſame bottom, and of the ſame principles with honeſt men who act like whigs; the ignominious remainder of either name may call themſelves, or be called by others, what they pleaſe. Their conduct will ſtamp their character, the original of which, is of an older date, than any party name now exiſting, and will continue long after time has blotted out the remembrance of the worſt of them.

For the laſt fifty years, the tories have called themſelves the patrons of the people; and the whigs thought they were the defenders of liberty, the ſupport of the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and the pillars of the conſtitution. If the characters were real, the difference between them was to ſeek. But unfortunately they differed in their opinions of each other, not without cauſe, or they might long before now have been happily united, and the names of diſtinction annihilated.

Two reigns of the houſe of Brunſwick have not, that I know of, afforded a debate upon any real queſtion concerning the liberty of the ſubject. The reaſon is obvious, that the favourite object of their government was more amply to ſecure it; on which account, fooliſh writers, like the author of *Droit le Roy*, (enamoured with the ſound of *prerogative*,) have ſaid it has been extended in that happy period. Standing armies, foreign connections, or perhaps a miſapprehended ſcheme of exciſe [not to be likened to a moſt exceptionable *extenſion* of it *now* in force] were the only topicks for introducing that ſubject: and as to any of theſe there has, of late years, been no diſpute, except the recent and repeated, but *alſo* fruitleſs endeavours to protect the private houſes of the farmer and the gentleman, from the vexatious intruſions of exciſe officers. What was formerly called the common cauſe abroad, has been ſo eſteemed at home, and treated as ſuch. Unexampled unanimity of ſentiments inſpired our councils with unknown vigour, and crowned our arms with unheard of ſucceſs, in defence of our own juſt rights, and in ſupport of the general independency of Europe; the maintenance of which is ſo eſſential to the preſervation of our religion and freedom.

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An important queſtion of liberty however, brings characters to the teſt, and tries the ſincerity of former profeſſions: it elucidates principles, and unmaſks pretences. Thoſe who ſtand forward in that glorious cauſe, are the true patriots, the ſound whigs, come from where they will, and whatever name they go by. They breath the ſpirit of the revolution, and ſtrengthen the bands of our ſecurity. Formerly the only diſtinction has been, (but it muſt no longer continue to be ſo,) between *country gentlemen* and *courtiers:* it is now betwixt *the friends of liberty*, and *the ſlaves of power*. Arthur's, or the Cocoa-Tree, Albemarle-ſtreet, or St. James's, are not able to confound *things* under a *Babel* of *names*. St. Stephen's Chapel itſelf cannot chriſten thoſe that are againſt liberty, *whigs*, or thoſe that are for it, *torys*, as long as we can read the principles of the revolution, without the help of treaſury-opticks. The diſtinction between whigs and tories was founded in the ſtruggle between prerogative and liberty; a tory therefore who befriends liberty is a contradiction; the character, excluding the name: by parity of reaſon, a nominal whig, who is againſt liberty, is equally inconſiſtent, the conduct being incompatible with the appellation.

Of ſuch pretenders to a character, which, by their conduct, they contradict, what can be thought; what can be ſaid? If they are of the blood of ancient Whigs, whoſe glorious atchievements, in the cauſe of liberty have immortalized their name, they only make their own infamy the more indelible, by diſgracing the race they are ſprung from.—*Vos pro libertate, quam ab illis accepiſtis non ſumma ope nitemini? — præclara Brutorum, atque Æmiliorum, & Lutatiorum Proles, geniti ad ea, quæ* MAJORES *virtute peperere, ſubvertenda—impigræ linguæ, animi ignavi, non ultra* (imo non intra) *concionis locum memores* LIBERTATIS—*occupavit neſcio quæ vos torpedo, qua non gloria movemini, neque flagitio:* cunctaque præſenti ignavia mutaſtis: abunde libertatem rati, quia tergis abſtinetur, & huc ire licet & illuc munera ditium dominorum.

A rank tory is bad; but a rotten whig, if poſſible, is ſtill worſe. The firſt has the credit of conſiſtency, if it is his original principle, and he has never quieted his ſcruples with the profits of compliance. The other is a renegado, who renounces his convictions; forſakes his firſt love; and cuts off the breaſts that nouriſhed him. With whom

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theſe gentlemen ſhould aſſociate, I am at ſome loſs to know. Their only fit companions ſeem to be rotten tories, who retain their principles, or rather their prejudices, and make gain of changing their profeſſions. Let rotten whigs and rotten tories then, go together; and who will envy their ſociety? But an adminiſtration, ſupported by ſuch a confederacy, muſt indeed be of a very black hue; and its continuance may be judged of from the rotteneſs, fragility, and incoherence of its props. Nor need any that comes after be afraid of wanting the ſame aſſiſtance, if they have a job to do, which better men will not undertake. Thoſe of ſuch flexible tenets, and pliable diſpoſitions, will always be help at hand, ready to offer their ſupport, upon proper terms; and eaſily turn with the tide; being *very accommodating in their nature.*

The favourite cry has, of late, been, to aboliſh all party names. But managed as it is, I know nothing, that has tended more, than this very cry, to revive, and keep up, what moſt people were very ready to forget. I own, however, I am for the propoſition, but I wiſh to go a great deal farther. For extinction of names will go a very ſhort way to a coaleſcence of parties. It is beginning at the wrong end. The axe muſt be laid to the root of the tree. Let us cut up the foundation of the difference: names will, like the ſhadow, follow the ſubſtance. Till we have but one principle, we cannot be of one name.

No body, I dare ſay, ever thought; and no friend to his country ever could think, of proſcribing men for a *name*; or of barring the converſion of the rankeſt tory that ever exiſted. I am ſure the practice has been the contrary. Witneſs the liſt of honours, and offices, in the laſt reign; witneſs how many, who had been called tories, not to ſay even real Jacobites, were well rewarded for coming into court, where their deſcendants now flouriſh, with the additional comfort, of daring to avow, and act, upon the ſame principles of prerogative, and arbitrary power, which their anceſtors were paid for pretending to renounce. The fathers, by a ſeaſonable hypocriſy, made their own terms; and, like the prodigal, always got the beſt garment.

The great miniſter, who conducted this country to a pitch of glory it never ſaw before, made it the labour of his adminiſtration to extinguiſh parties, as well as names: and it is a merit, that cannot be denied

denied him, that he was more ſucceſsful in the patriot deſign, than perhaps any of his predeceſſors were, or than any but himſelf will, for a long time, be.

When he was at the helm, there ſeemed to be but one heart, and one mind, in the nation. His conduct commanded an unanimity ſo aſtoniſhing in degree, and ſo amazing in its effects, that thoſe who are now diſpoſed to find fault, though their own acquieſcence made part of the general conſent, can only call it an *intoxicated unanimity:* a reflection which does as little honour to themſelves who now pretend to murmur, and did not before remonſtrate, as it does juſtice to the true ſpirit of the nation, which then was ſatisfied, and ſtill is content with what was before univerſally approved. Unhappy is it, for this country, that ſome of the labourers fainted before the harveſt was gathered!

Honest men did then, as they do now; for integrity is a conſiſtent character. On the ſame principle of love to their country, they ſupported her liberty againſt foreign enemies, and defend it from domeſtick violations. In the days of concord, even the rank tory, and the reprobate whig;—the moſt rotten-hearted of either name, were dragged along with the ſtandard of liberty, as the trophies of a triumphant adminiſtration, the meaſures of which ſtilled the voice of oppoſition, and ſilenced the whiſpers of complaint. Men of all denominations and characters went one way, becauſe there was not another road open. When an opportunity offers, principle, and pay, ſecern the multitude: The ſound and the ſordid, the ſycophant and the ſincere, then part: Proſpects, promiſes, and proviſion, draw away the hungry, the greedy, and the gaping: virtue can only carry the virtuous and upright. When thoſe who carry the *bag* ſhew the way, the *feeling* intereſt will always be on that ſide.

Mark, however, the importance of the character of conductors; the greatneſs of the difference between tories when compelled to follow a whig leader, and when making a true tory ſyſtem. We have ſeen tories, under whig conduct, ſupporting whig meaſures, and adopting whig maxims: if ſuffered to act on tory principles, we perceive liberty can only be ſafe, by keeping out of their reach. Tories, when they take the lead, will wound, not protect her, if ſhe comes in their way.

We had a miniſter, alas! that we have not him ſtill; who has not only ſaid, but ſhewn that it was the pride of his heart to humble the foreign enemies of his country, and who thinks he cannot ſpend the laſt remains of his health in a better cauſe, than ſtruggling to maintain the great barriers of the conſtitution, aſſert the rights of the ſubject, and protect their liberty againſt arbitrary violations. It was the ſingular commendation of that GREAT miniſter's adminiſtration, not only to be aſſiſted by all the zealous friends of their country, and of the conſtitution, but to be oppoſed by none. He ſtudied to unite parties, without confounding principles; not ſingly to make names ceaſe, but to get opinions to coaleſce, upon the great foundation of revolution principles: and certainly he had the ſatisfaction to effect an unknown union, and harmony, in the counſels, and operations, the wiſhes, and deſires of the kingdom; no leſs honourable to himſelf, than advantageous to the nation, and beneficial to all Europe.

It is therefore one of the falſeſt, as well as moſt invidious pleas, in favour of thoſe who deprived the ſtate of the able, and faithful ſervices of one of the greateſt men it ever produced, that they have been more liberal in the ideas, or more engaging in the means for a coalition of parties, than he was, or thoſe who ſerved the crown with him.

His ſucceſſors may take the merit of receiving the clean and the unclean, without diſtinction; of adopting Tories, in the worſt ſenſe of the word, as a *party*, bringing their principles with them; of making them the very root of miniſtry, and uſing, even *hiring* prerogative tenets, in defence of meaſures. I wiſh them as much good of the ſcheme as it ought to yield; I expect none from it, either to the King, or to the nation: for I own, I have no idea of that allegiance which ſlept, to ſay no worſe, during the reigns of George the Firſt and George the Second; and did not even awake, for ſome time after the acceſſion of George the Third; when, for valuable conſiderations, it broke forth all of a ſudden, like an inundation, but with more of the marks of the four laſt years of the Queen, than of the characteriſticks of true *Hanoverian* loyalty.

That is a ſpecies of whiggiſm which to me appears to be very inconſiſtent with the true principle of it; and I cannot help ſuſpecting ſome ſecret ſpring, ſome inferior connection, attached thoſe who

who profeſs'd it, to the *miniſter*, without binding them to the KING. I cannot eaſily believe that they are the true friends of his Majeſty's family, who pretend to love or acknowledge him, and failed, perhaps, in both towards his two illuſtrious progenitors, whoſe crown he wears. Such a coalition, therefore, or extinction of parties, and party-names, on ſuch terms as theſe, I have no fancy for, nor do I believe any true Engliſhman ever will.

FOR if any hold principles, by which the Gentlemen of the Cocoa-tree are, I think, heinouſly arraigned, if they avow them, and groſſly calumniated if they do not; I ſay, if any hold theſe, or the like principles, they proſcribe themſelves as unfit for any office, and incapable of all truſt under the preſent happy eſtabliſhment; and any miniſter employing them might juſtly be queſtioned by his country. The principles are the exploded notions of inſupportable prerogative, baniſhed with the exiled family; contrary to the foundations of the revolution, inconſiſtent with Engliſh liberty, and irreconcileable with the ſecurity of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion.

ON the other hand, the friends and defenders of liberty, who adhere to its doctrines, and maintain its foundations, and, by their conduct, contradict the oppoſite maxims, are miſcalled when any of them are named Tories: they abuſe themſelves, and injure their country, if they ſuffer ſo groundleſs an appellation to ſtand in the way of their ſerving it. Nor will any real Whig who can diſtinguiſh what is from what is not, dream of excluding them from the honours or emoluments of government. A proſcription of that ſort would be matter of juſt charge. But it is an idle chimera, a bugbear, ſet up by thoſe who call out for Cocoa-tree unanimity, and concord, as an engine to bolſter up a weak, and wavering adminiſtration, againſt the cries raiſed by unpopular, and unpatriotick meaſures.

IT well becomes ſome Gentlemen to talk of *proſcription* after what all the world has beheld. They have, indeed, loaded with rewards the loweſt, and moſt profligate tools, that would enter into their ſervice: but the principle of the power *conſigned* into their hands has manifeſtly been, with the moſt relentleſs cruelty, to expell from office, and place, every man, and the connections of every man, be his allegiance never ſo approved, his loyalty and love of his King, and his country, never ſo conſpicuous; and tho' his, and his family's

family's ſervices, to both, had been the moſt diſtinguiſhed; if he could not be caught in the inſidious net ſo widely ſtretched out, or refuſed tamely to ſubmit to a *new* dominion, ſprung up like the race of Cadmus, and that will probably end as they did, by the very ſimilar effects of contention and diſcord which it has ſo plentifully produced.

THE ſame men, with an *uniform inconſiſtency*, have abetted and put in practice the moſt tyrannical proſcription ever known in this country, (the worſt days of arbitrary power not excepted,) and yet would ſet up the idea of a proſcription of Tories as a ſcarecrow to frighten from a cordial union with one another, thoſe who agree in vindicating, and maintaining the rights of liberty. They indeed proſcribe none who will join with them, be they real Tories or falſe Whigs; they chuſe men who do not ſo much as pretend to a principle, but will, as other mercenaries do, ſerve for their pay; for that is the only, and to too many it is an eaſy, term, which they require: but they have not baniſhed a proſcribing principle; they have it, and have exerciſed it with a witneſs upon the firm, and faithful friends of the Houſe of Hanover and the Proteſtant ſucceſſion.

Do we not ſee the ancient, the true pillars of the glorious revolution-ſettlement, to which this country owes the preſervation of that liberty which was the ſpring of it, removed from the ſervice of their country? The hereditary Whigs (if they muſt be diſtinguiſhed with a name,) whoſe attachment to liberty, to revolution principles, and, by neceſſary conſequence, to the auguſt family which holds the crown by that glorious tenure of the choice of a FREE PEOPLE, who would be *free*, has not been inferior to the ardour of their anceſtors in the ſame cauſe, which ſtood the moſt fiery trials;—men who have contended in zeal for the honour of the crown, and affection for the perſon of aking, whom his people have almoſt adored.—The faithful ſervants of their country, in the moſt glorious reign ſhe ever ſaw—and ſome of them the ſervants of all the princes of that illuſtrious race, to which it was reſerved to raiſe to its ſummit Engliſh glory, on the baſis of Engliſh liberty, and Engliſh loyalty, happily united under that family.—Theſe men, by the ſad fluctuations of unſtable power, the oppoſition of jarring projects, and an impotent ambition, are laid aſide, (like the inſtruments of a day, or an hour, or a minute,

nute, which have done their work,) and are in a ſituation hardly better than the avowed enemies of liberty, and of the auguſt family which ſupports it, ought to be; when perhaps the once open, and now only the latent, and concealed enemies of this royal family, and the ſure enemies of liberty, are baſking in the ſun-ſhine favour of the family they have execrated, and it may be, yet in their hearts abhor. I could almoſt add, it is a ſituation, except in the co pariſon of the Princes upon the throne, much too like that, in which the determined aſſertors of liberty ſtood, in a period when the moſt meritorious ſervices to an ungrateful Prince, whoſe reign was the curſe of thoſe who reſtored him, were not ſufficient to wipe out the *guilt* of having contended for the CONSTITUTION. It cannot, I am ſure, be ſaid, that an approved attachment to the proteſtant ſucceſſion, is a merit, at preſent, in flouriſhing repute, however difficult it may be to account for ſo extraordinary a phenomenon.

BE the cauſes what they will, (and I mean not to enter on ſo extenſive, though a very plain ſubject, notwithſtanding all the art that has been uſed to perplex, and miſlead;) it is not defect of duty, loyalty, ability, experience, and ſucceſs in the ſervice of their country, that has excluded from it thoſe, the want of whoſe aſſiſtance ſhe languiſhes under. Whether the nation has gained or loſt by the change, future ages will bear teſtimony, if any of the preſent ſhould deny what it is hardly poſſible for the moſt deluded, or partial, to be inſenſible of, in ſpite of the powerful bias of intereſt and prejudice.

CAN we then—can Engliſhmen, devoted to the proteſtant ſucceſſion, grateful to the memory of the illuſtrious princes of the Brunſwick line, who have ſo nobly anſwered the ends, for which they were called to the government of theſe kingdoms—and perſonally attached to the prince who now fills the throne, adorned with all his own royal virtues, and with the ſplendor in which the glorious qualities of thoſe progenitors tranſmitted it to him.—Can we be eaſy when we ſee the tried friends of that ſucceſſion—of that family, of liberty, and of our country, driven into a private ſtation?

No good ſubject, no true Engliſhman, grudges; on the contrary, all rejoice in the genuine converſion of thoſe who did not inherit the principles of liberty, or were not ſo happy as to be bred up with an

attachment to the Houſe of Hanover, and they wiſh to ſee the arms of government always open to receive them: but we are for fair grafting into the old ſtock, and do not like to ſee the natural branches cut off, to make way for foreign ſlips. Nor do we think too much ought to be truſted with *new* loyalty. One who ſhortly before would not, for the world, have drunk the *Uſurper's* health, as they then called him, or own his title, may very ſuddenly get a new and a more happy light. But it is fit that he ſhould give ſome better proof of the ſincerity of his revolution principles, than receiving or wiſhing the profits of a good office: ſuch late converts muſt excuſe the old friends of liberty, for deſiring to ſee them bring forth fruits meet for repentance; if they do, the evidence *that* will afford of what they *are*, will ſoon make it be forgot what they *were*.

LIBERTY and the Proteſtant ſucceſſion will ſtand its ground even againſt falſe converts—thoſe, however, of whom it might be expected, that they ſhould be the true friends of both, and ſhew an equal regard to both, might reflect on the fall of a great man, who, in his day, knew the ſummit of miniſterial power, and knew the reverſe too.—Lord Clarendon was purſued to his deſtruction, by the animoſity of a Houſe of Commons, which he himſelf had, for other ends, compoſed of men of the moſt extravagant principles as to government: and theſe ſame principles, with regard to the royal power, made his own creatures not ſcruple to abandon him, when his virtues (and great virtues he had, though eclipſed by the notions of a miſguided, and ill repaid loyalty,) made him obnoxious to an ungrateful maſter. This is not the only inſtance of even able politicians labouring their own ruin, by projects contrived by themſelves. The ſame thing cannot, in our days, happen from ſuch an occaſion; but ſimilar cauſes will always have ſimilar effects.

POWER in the hands of men not attached to liberty, and no true friends to the principles of the conſtitution, nor to the family whoſe government is founded in them, will not ſpare any who are ſuſpected of ſuch attachments, though they may have greatly contributed to their getting the power: for of all coalitions that is the moſt infeaſible, between men of arbitrary principles, and thoſe who have the loweſt degree of favour for liberty. Theſe may feel the enmity of the others, when the malignancy of their principles will not be able to harm

harm liberty, or touch the proteſtant ſucceſſion, which ſupports it. Let them look to themſelves who, for any purpoſe whatever, or in any inſtance, can be brought to be cold, lukewarm, and indifferent, or worſe, in the cauſe of liberty, and to renounce their connections with the true friends of it. They lean upon a ſtaff very apt to wound them, when they truſt to the *purchaſed* ſupport of thoſe who have no real regard to either. As Lord Chancellor Shafteſbury ſaid to the *penſioned* Parliament, *They may hardly ever find a time to make ſatisfaction for the omiſſion of* ſome *opportunities they have loſt.*

But let the true friends of liberty, thoſe who, by their conduct, ſhew they are of the ſame ſentiments, not be ſcared either by the name, or the practice of court proſcription, from joining in the ſtricteſt union, founded in revolution principles, and attachment to the proteſtant ſucceſſion, cemented by that harmony, and mutual good-will that are congenial with principles of ſo noble and generous a nature; and directed to the great objects of liberty at home, and the ſyſtem of liberty abroad, which is ſo eſſential to national independency, and national happineſs, againſt all the machinations of the common enemies of our own liberty, and of the liberty of Europe. We have ſeen, what an union of this ſort could do; and what is it that it cannot do, that ought to be done?

It was none of the leaſt of its atchievements, for the good of this country, to ſtop the mouths of thoſe * who are not aſhamed now

* In the next long and laborious declamation, of a right honourable gentleman, it is hoped he will, as conciſely as he can, ſtate to us, without a fallacy, how moderate a proportion the whole charge of the German war bears to the whole of our national expence, from 1757 to the time of the reſignations of his family: he will next candidly take to his own ſhare, and to that of his worthy fellow labourers, the amount of the two laſt campaigns, more coſtly than any of the preceding. He will pleaſe likewiſe to favour us with his opinion, touching the enormous increaſe of expence, which muſt neceſſarily have fallen upon other branches, if we had diſcontinued, or not engaged in the continental plan, by which the whole force of France was kept at bay. He will mark out to us too how Portugal (by them a ſuperadded continental operation) could have been defended at all, if the houſe of Bourbon had been left lords paramount of Europe; and what the conſequence muſt have been, to this commercial iſland. He will likewiſe be ſo kind as to inform us, what inſurance office there is for the ſucceſs of their plan, if they ever had any, the experiment of which however they never dared venture, thank God! When all this is done, the degree of his fault, in keeping an *intereſted* ſilence for ſo many ſeſſions, may be fixed. To his great honour be it further remembered, he afterwards railed at and continued to ſupport the very ſame meaſure. Tho' if it could ever be wiſe, or not the height of folly, to make ſo very hazardous an experiment as that of abandoning the continent, it muſt have been towards the cloſe of this triumphant war, when the houſe of Bourbon was ſo reduced, that there was ſcarce any thing left to conquer; the facility of retaining and compleating ſeeming to be almoſt as great as that of ſurrendering our conqueſts.

to confeſs they did not agree in opinion, only in a ſilent vote for meaſures to ſupport theſe great objects; they concurred, becauſe nothing was to be got by differing, ſuch an union having born down all oppoſition, and left no room to complain. The ſame union, firmly adhered to, is the moſt likely means to bring back things to their *natural* ſtate, in every reſpect. For no man who is under the powers of liberty, and of love to his King and country, can think ſhe is in her natural ſtate, when contrary to the experience of the two laſt reigns, Tories and Tory principles take the lead in court, which they never were allowed to do, and are followed and adopted by time-ſerving nominal Whigs; when the great families which have been the martyrs of liberty, the pillars of the revolution, and of the proteſtant ſucceſſion, are depreſſed, and inſulted; when the ableſt miniſters ſhe ever had are out of office; when they, whoſe attachments to the King, and his family, as well as ſhare in the common ſtake of prince, and people, ſhould naturally hand them up to high poſts, have no part in adminiſtration, the protector of the whole.

THOSE the wiſhes of their country follow, and to them its confidence cleaves; the wiſhes and confidence of a people who know, that under a prince of the houſe of Brunſwick, there is not, there cannot be but one intereſt for the King, and the kingdom. The wiſhes and confidence of ſuch a people, are the moſt effectual ſupplications to a throne filled as ours is, when allowed to reach it, in their own undiſſembling, and undiſguiſed language.

THE king, in his firſt declaration, made, when but ſetting himſelf in the throne, expreſſed his reliance on the aſſiſtance of all HONEST MEN. It is the anxious wiſh of his loving people, that he may have it; and that no other may approach him—that his majeſty may not be expoſed to the deceit, and danger of their counſels who are not *honeſt men*—that he may be guarded from the errors and miſtakes of thoſe who are not *able miniſters*.

PROSCRIPTION properly ſo called, of any but the open or concealed enemies of the conſtitution, and royal family now wearing the crown, is a law of terror, an engine of tyranny—not conſiſtent with the government of GEORGE the Third.—But men of flagitious characters,

racters; looſe principles, abandoned in their morals *, deſperate in fortune, like Romeo's poor apothecary, and dealing in political poiſon;—Such men can never be ſafe counſellors for the ſtate; and they will always be the diſgrace of that ſervice in which they are employed. Their vices neceſſarily exclude them from employment, under a prince of an oppoſite character, which it is our happineſs to enjoy. They therefore cannot ſay they are proſcribed, if they are either not called to, or are diſmiſſed from office. It always has been, and always will be true, that *when the wicked beareth rule, the people mourn: but when the righteous are in authority, the people rejoice.* Honeſt men, good and able miniſters, are the ſtability of a wiſe government, the glory of a good reign, and the ornaments of a virtuous court—amongſt the greateſt publick bleſſings to the nation under their care.

All honeſt men, friends of liberty, muſt wiſh adminiſtration to be in ſuch hands, and in none elſe. Such an adminiſtration they will always ſupport, and their ſupport will maintain and uphold it. An adminiſtration of another character they will never fail to oppoſe, becauſe they always will have good reaſon to do it: and in this country their endeavours can hardly be long without ſucceſs.

*The world has produced men, who, not content with being uncommonly wicked, have added the meaneſs of a ſtrange impracticable attempt of hypocriſy to the infamy of vice; pretending a zeal for religion, and virtue, and ſetting up for reformers of the very wickedneſs which they were known to have been the maſters to teach others: *traitors* to their companions in execrable debaucheries, to the love of which they continued *true*: *perſecutors* of crimes, the infernal perfection of which conſtituted their own horrible diſtinction: chief in ſocieties of the moſt unutterable abominations, and bringing to be heads of ſeminaries inſtituted to promote morality---Profeſſors in the Devil's academy, and aſpiring to be *Præfects* in Chriſtian Univerſities, principally from a ſecret pleaſure, and with a view to diſgrace religion in the proſtitute baſeneſs of her ſervants. *Monſtrum horrendum, informe ingens, cui lumen ademptum.* Would not men of ſuch a ſtamp make ſad miniſters? They could only be given in wrath, as a curſe, to any land.—From all ſuch miniſters good Lord deliver us! and alſo from the influence of any who could be capable of contributing to their advancement. For what ſhould we ſay if we ſaw the court of a Prince, himſelf conſpicuous for virtue, and zealous to encourage it, contaminated with men exceeding all others in licentiouſneſs, profaneneſs, and wickedneſs! What ſhould we think of thoſe who pretended a concern for our honour, if, occaſionally, to ſerve particular purpoſes, they ſelected for our ſervice, and placed about us, in the moſt intimate ſituations, of acceſs, confidence, and employment, the moſt profligate perſons that the age, or country had produced? What hope ſhould we conceive of reformation, ſo emphatically promiſed, when private character and public conduct teſtify hourly againſt it, to the ſcandal and deriſion of every man, who hath ears to hear, eyes to ſee, or a heart to feel? The prayer of the wiſe King Solomon was, *Take away the wicked from before the King, and his throne ſhall be eſtabliſhed in righteouſneſs*; and his father ſaid, what experience has always proved, *that the wicked walk on every ſide, when the vileſt men are exalted.*

THE worthy gentlemen of the Cocoa-Tree, manifeſting ſuch revolution principles, and perſevering in ſuch efforts, with the noble company of other patriots, will be truly honoured, and cannot but rejoice, as their country always will, in the glorious fruit of their labours, viz.—the maintenance of the rights, and privileges of the people, upholding the real honour of the crown, ſupporting the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and eſtabl ſhing national proſperity.

BUT before I take my final leave of the Cocoa-Tree, permit me to ſay a few words to another part of it, and to lay before their eyes the true, not exaggerated, but lamentable picture of our country, whoſe misfortunes are owing to the inability (to ſay no worſe) of that adminiſtration, in the ſupport of which, they have ſacrificed the reputation, which, during a long ſeries of years, no leſs than half a century, they ſeemed deſirous to have it thought they were labouring to acquire, and which it once looked, as if they had well nigh attained.

HAS not an inadequate, inglorious, precarious, diſhonourable peace been concluded, which puts power, and riches, into the ſcale of the enemy, taken out of our own? Have not our allies, at the concluſion of the late glorious, and proſperous war, been abandoned, juſtly offended; and have they not loſt all confidence in this court? Are we not at the ſame time, alarmed with the formidable, and unexampled union, not only of the whole Houſe of Bourbon, amongſt themſelves, but combined with that of Auſtria, their ancient, and hereditary enemy; which not all our ſubmiſſions to that haughty court, or offered treachery towards our magnanimous ally, have yet been able in the leaſt degree to ſhake?

HAVE we one ally to boaſt of, or truſt to, on the whole continent? Let us enumerate the principal powers which we can perhaps yet hope are not our enemies! How ſtand we with the courts of Ruſſia, Pruſſia, Sweden, Denmark,—with Holland—nay even with Portugal, and Sardinia?—Our enemies can tell with pleaſure.—The whole North indignant and diſſatisfied; in the South the court of Portugal expecting, and fearing, to fall the firſt victim of that union, which we might have enfeebled, and even annihilated for ever—The formidable alliance of the Houſe of Bourbon, apportioning, and allotting, as they pleaſe, the ſtates of Italy—The king of Sardinia, the natural and once the firm, and uſeful ally of this country, neceſſitated,

ted, with humiliation, to look to France and to Auſtria, for ſecurity; and ſubmitting to take an annual ſtipend from France, as an equivalent for a territory, ſecured to him by treaty, the great object of his wiſhes, and the recompence for his ſervices, and ſufferings in the common cauſe.

AT home, what is there?—Debility, diſunion, diſquiet, diffidence, diſcontent, and the neceſſary conſequence of all, danger.—Stocks, the barometer of the ſtate, lower than in many periods of a draining war; publick credit, on which all ſtands, ſhaken, and drooping under the *weight* of peace, and the preſſure of the worſt kind of miſmanagement.—The ſinking fund, or, which is the ſame thing, the current ſervice, loaded, and to be loaded, with the future intereſt of * *ten millions*; by which the ſalutary proſpect of diminiſhing, by annual ſavings, the enormous load of debt, is cut up by the root, and national bankruptcy ſet before us, as the certain, and in-

* *State of the* unfunded *debt*, *March* 25, 1764.

Navy bills ſubſcribed laſt year, the intereſt chargeable on firſt aids —	3,483,553	0	0
Navy debt	4,046,898	0	0
Exchequer bills	1,800,000	0	0
German extras ſtill due, eſtimated by a Right Hon. Gentleman at —	1,000,000	0	0
	10,330,451	0	0
Deduct diſcharged this year of the navy debt	650,000	0	0
Remains	9,680,451	0	0
Add deficiency of land and malt, taken in eſtimate too low, —	100,000	0	0
Eſtimate of Sinking fund taken too high, conſequently anticipated at leaſt to	400,000	0	0
Total	10,180,451	0	0

It may be worth a few figures more to explode a puff in the ſame Gazetteer, which alledges, "that the Sinking Fund was this year increaſed 391,000l. by an addition of 1,400,000l. of tea, brought by means of the cutters, to pay duty.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Aggregate fund, half produce of tea, 1762, as delivered in, —	222,086	4	11½
General fund, half ditto	222,086	4	11½
Total	444,072	9	11
Aggregate fund, half ditto, 1763	239,230	0	4¾
	239,230	0	0¾
Total	478,460	0	9½
Encreaſed difference only, inſtead of 391,000 —	34,387	10	10½

fallible

fallible conſequence of this procraſtinating meaſure, on the firſt rupture; and this deſperate ſituation principally owing to the puſillanimity and weakneſs of men who know no conſideration, but that of prolonging, at any riſk, for ſome ſmall time, the receipt of emoluments, and the ſhadow of power, lamentably and providently induſtrious, indeed, in laying foundations for their own future oppoſition.---In the mean while, the plan of annual expence, publick and *ſecret*, ſwelled to a degree that deprives us of all reſource *. Our *revenue*, conſiſting of *the land tax*, fixed upon us by theſe meaſures at four ſhillings, with the *malt*, and probable *ſinking fund*, ſcarce more than equal even to the acknowledged *eſtabliſhment of* † *annual expence*, marked out to us now, by a miniſter who claims

* REVENUE.

Land-tax at 4 s. and malt, taken at		2,750,000	0 0
Produce of ſinking-fund at an average, as eſtimated by a Right Hon. Gentleman,		1,800,000	0 0
	Total	4,550,000	0 0
Out of which deduct deficiencies on land and malt, eſtimated at an average	350,000 0 0		
Future intereſt on the *unfunded* debt of 10,180,451 l. at 4¼ per cent. according to the preſent rate of ſtocks in intereſt will be at a round ſum, though I admit it may be alledged, there will always be a navy debt of a million outſtanding, without intereſt	430,000 0 0		
		780,000	0 0
Total of clear revenue		3,770,000	0 0
Total of peace eſtabliſhment as above		3,519,917	15 0
Remains of ſurplus to diſcharge the national debt of 146,000,000, ſuppoſing no accidental addition of expence, taking the higheſt eſtimate of ſinking fund, and omitting encreaſing expence of the militia Total *only*		251,082	5 0

† *Eſtabliſhment as taken from the ſtate of Supply publiſhed* by authority *in the Gazetteer of Monday, March* 19.

The peace eſtabliſhment for the navy	1,443,568	11 9
The army-eſtabliſhment	1,509,313	14 0
Miſcellaneous articles, excluſive of the DEBT to the city of London, which is not bankrupt, on account of London-Bridge, the money for which has not been voted this year	180,035	9 3
Militia as voted this year (if general 50,000 l. ſhort)	80,000	0 0
To which muſt be added, extraordinary for land and ſea ſervice, including tranſport of troops to America, not comprized in Gazetteer, at leaſt	300,000	0 0
To Mr. Ba——pt To——t	7,000	0 0
Total of annual peace eſtabliſhment	3,519,917	15 0

as

as his only *æconomical* merit, the not attempting a remedy to any of theſe grievances; who counteracts all his paſt declarations, and principles, even thoſe of his own much loved, but by the officers of the fleet univerſally execrated and exploded navy bill, by leaving an immenſe weight of debt at market, without a fund, hovering over, and depreſſing all public credit—whoſe impotent ‡ plan of ſupplies for the year, devoid of expedients, reſource, and reformation, in theſe days of peace ſo neceſſary, and attainable, conſiſts barely in applying, as far as they will go, the ſeveral ſavings of paſt adminiſtrations, joined to one hundred and ten thouſand pounds for the renewal of the Bank contract, the land and malt taxes, together with an *over-rated* produce of the ſinking fund, in effect creating a new debt. The words *æconomy*, and *reformation*, having loſt their meaning; or rather meaning only extravagance, and corruption, beyond example. —The people juſtly alarmed for their liberties, attacked in their perſons, their property, and even their houſes, by the arbitrary violations of general warrants, and aggrieved by the moſt odious mode of exciſe.—The tools of power, oppreſſive in their proſecutions, (except of *Droit le Roy*, and ſuch prerogative, and ſlavery ſyſtems, which miniſters of ſtate, whoſe eyes, and ears are open on other occaſions, had neither time to ſee, nor hear of; and that no body who is their friend, thinks it a *friendly* act, to inform them of, leſt it ſhould compel a pro-

‡ *Plan of Supply, taken from the Gazetteer of Monday, March* 19, *as publiſhed* by Authority.

By total ſavings of paſt adminiſtration 1,157,050 12 9	Under the head of extraordinaries	163,558	3 0
	Militia money	150,000	0 0
	Annuity fund, 1761	3197	9 9
	The ſaving of non-effective men, brought to account in the preſent year	140,000	0 0
	Produce of the French prizes taken before the war, lent without intereſt by his late Majeſty to the public, which has the right to it, to indemnify part of the expence of the war, which was *wholly* borne by the nation,—the civil liſt bearing no ſhare of any tax whatever	700,000	0 0
Renewal of Bank contract by the preſent adminiſtration		110,000	0 0
Land and malt taxes		2,750,000	0 9
Sinking fund		2,000,000	0 9
Borrowed on Excheq. bills to pay off the like ſum of Excheq. bills		1,800,000	0 9
	Total	7,817,055	12 9

ſecution—

ſecution, in ſpite of tenderneſs): More oppreſſive ſtill when proſecuted themſelves, and legally convicted---ranſacking every deteſtable artifice, for delay every infamous chicanery—*eſſoign*, privilege, bills of exception, the frowns of power, immenſity of expence, &c. &c. under all which diſcouragements, and hardſhips, the meaneſt of the people have had to contend for almoſt a twelvemonth, and ſtill muſt contend, with the greateſt, who are one day encouraging, and paying defamatory libels, the next, beat at their own weapons, *under frivolous diſtinctions*, flying to law; and, leſt that ſhould fail, to parliament, for the means of ſuppreſſing, and puniſhing what was only the bleſſed fruit of their own example.---Such is the candour, and generoſity of our reformers, ſuch the liberty, and licentiouſneſs of the preſs.---

A ſett of men diſtinguiſhed by nothing but publick and private blemiſhes, even in the exceſs of them---poſſeſt of the reins of g——t— and ſweets of office, preſent and reverſionary---preſuming to give law to their ſ——n in the moſt inſolent manner---even in the privacies of his friendſhip---that friendſhip, which *they* at leaſt have applauded, and to which ſome of them owe their daily bread, tho' they have made their benefactor eat his in * *baniſhment*, the more ignominous, as they had the power to impoſe it, and this under the ſpecious colour of delivering majeſty from a pretended intention of the ſame kind of tyranny in others, who truly *feel* for the honour of their maſter, who never had in the late reign, or in this, a ſuperiority of influence, but from ſuperiority of talents and ſervices to their king and country, and who have ſcorned to give themſelves even the trouble of contradicting that prepoſterous heap of abſurd falſhoods, palmed, ſo induſtriouſly, upon the public credulity, laſt autumn, certain that they would die, and ſtink, like their authors, in the noſtrils of every honeſt man: A ſecond ſeſſion of parliament almoſt elapſed ſince the ſignature of the preliminaries, without ſo much as one ſtep taken however promiſed, towards ameliorating our revenue, or availing ourſelves, by wiſe, and careful re-

* The offenſive, injurious, and libellous defamation of that noble Lord, with which they accompanied his expulſion from the capital, can be equalled by nothing but the prudence with which they carried on proſecutions againſt others; for which, it is true, expreſſions made the galled horſe winee.

gulations,

gulations, of thoſe *ceſſions*, the utility of which has been ſo highly magnified; and which are only as yet known to us, by the accumulation of expence; or the ſollicitations we hear ſo much of, for proprietary grants of the moſt valuable of them, to gratify friends and favourites of power, aſtoniſhed as they are at their own exaltation, they are content to drag on, like a wounded ſnake, a weak, diſgraced, diſreputable exiſtence; when they are conſcious there is but one ſet of men, who can give luſtre to government, and in whom alone foreign Princes, the Bourbon confederacy excepted, will, or can take a juſt confidence.—What character for ability, weight, or credit, has, or how can ſuch an adminiſtration be looked upon, either abroad, or at home?

With a civil liſt of no leſs than eight hundred thouſand pounds per annum, the *crown* revenues of all our conqueſts, *all* the revenues, and *all* the intereſt of the late king's riches, in Germany, now flowing in with the arrears, in what light of ſplendor does our court appear, in the eyes of the nation---in the eyes of Europe? I will not appeal to enumerations, which I am aſhamed to recapitulate, and which a very *ſhort* memory, indeed, can recollect.

If this be a true delineation, and you know it is, of the publick ſituation at this time, where can ſuch of you, Gentlemen of the Cocoa-Tree, who have ſhewn yourſelves the ſtrenuous and hardened ſupporters of ſuch meaſures and ſuch principles, look for a juſtification of your conduct?---Can you ſtill hope to impoſe upon mankind? Or, rather, are you not diſcovered, and known to be the tools of prerogative, and enemies to the principle of revolution freedom? --- Can you, after this expoſtulatory account of things, have the aſſurance to continue in your affirmations, that the preſent miniſters have as yet *done nothing wrong?*---Merit for them, I muſt do you the juſtice to acknowledge, you never have claimed.---Will your miſrepreſentations ſtill preſume to lay to the charge of the leaders of the friends of liberty, a thirſt, like your own, after employments?---Men who have, almoſt all of them, filled, and ſacrificed the greateſt ſituations, to the love they bear their country---Will you continue to do this, when you know in your conſciences, the moſt probable fear is, that if the wiſhes of the publick ſhould ſucceed, an unhappy unwillingneſs

unwillingneſs will manifeſt itſelf, inſtead of an intereſted eagerneſs, to fill the high offices of the kingdom.

THESE important conſiderations are left with thoſe of the Cocoa-Tree, who prefer principles to names, reality to profeſſions; who are miſcalled Tories, and are *indeed* friends to that ſyſtem of liberty, which was founded in the expulſion of the houſe of Stuart, and ſecured by the acceſſion of that of Hanover, under which their title being founded in freedom, it is our own fault if we are not free.

I am, &c.

FINIS.

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